

Gist of the Conversation between War  
Minister ITAGAKI and WANG

On June 11, 1939, from 8 to 10:30 A.M.

WANG. I found the word "anti-Comintern" in your letter addressed to me during my stay in HANOI some time ago. This was the most impressive thing that I have ever experienced. Then I was impressed with your opinion that CHIANG Kai-Shek should hold himself responsible for the outbreak of this Incident. As for the problem of responsibility, I am willing to assume responsibility for myself for the outbreak of this Incident, because I was also concerned with it. I lay the greatest stress on the anti-Comintern problem, which is a problem for the Orient as well as for China. Once CHIANG Kai-Shek maintained the anti-Comintern attitude and carried on the subjugation of the red bandits for several years. In 1935 I was ordered by him to bring China into closer relations with Germany. At the same time, CHIANG Kai-Shek despatched CHEN Li-Fu to the Soviet Union to confer with LITVINOV with a view to establishing connection between China and the Soviet Union. CHIANG Kai-Shek had apparently planned to form a coalition with the Soviet Union from that time onward. Then, with the outbreak of the HSLAN Incident, the coalition between the Soviet Union and China became decisive. At present, Britain, France and the United States, being jealous of the aggrandizement of Japan in the Orient, are assisting

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China in her waging war against Japan. However, it is evident that the Soviet Union is taking the lead in aiding China. Thus, in spite of the fact that CHIANG Kai-Shek is waging war against Japan in concert with the Communist Party and the Soviet Union, the reason why the Chinese people at large are supporting CHIANG Kai-Shek is that they are afraid lest China fall into a position like that of India under the pressure of Japan. Such being the case, they are not in a position to start an anti-Comintern movement. On the contrary, those who advocate peace with Japan are being turned out by the people. Only one-third of the members of the Kuomintang Army made approach to the Communist Party, while the other two-thirds are maintaining the Anti-Comintern attitude in their hearts desiring peace. However, for the above-mentioned reason, they are not in a position to start an anti-CHIANG Kai-Shek movement or an anti-Comintern movement. Therefore, as soon as they ceased to have fear of Japan, they would turn unanimously against communism. As the result of the talks with men at JUHAI and CHUNGKING and some members of the Suffrage Council, who were other than those belonging to the Kuomintang, I found that they were unanimous against Communism. The reason why LUNG YUN, though he was most likely to rise in arms with me, was obliged to give up his intention was that he was also influenced by such a general tendency in China. I held office in the government at the time when China recognized communism, from 1924 to 1926, so that I am willing to assume responsibility for any conduct on my part during that period. Since then I have opposed the communist party all the time, especially I opposed the recent

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Coalition between the CHUNGKING regime and the communist party. But the attitude of the CHUNGKING government remained the same just as I stated above. This was why I made up my mind to escape from CHUNGKING in order to launch a campaign against the Comintern.

ITAGAKI: I received detailed information from Colonel KAGESA concerning the conditions under which you were obliged to make escape from CHUNGKING and your subsequent action. It is true that the Chinese of to-day are swayed by anti-Japanese sentiment. This is, I believe, due to the fact that they failed to understand Japan's true intention. As a matter of fact, the Japanese government authorities as well as the Japanese people at large have made concerted efforts to promote friendship between Japan and China for the past sixty or seventy years. I believe it was chiefly due to the misunderstanding on the part of the Chinese that this object is not attained yet. If this is the case, those who misunderstood as well as those who were misunderstood are naturally responsible for the result. In this connection, I can say definitely that Japan has not the slightest intention of reducing China to the status of India. On the contrary, she is endeavoring to prevent the infiltration of extraneous influence for the purpose of emancipating all the races in the Orient, thereby expecting to secure the lasting Peace of the Orient. As the first step toward this, Japan plans to form coalition with China. She regards the present Incident as a holy war and is determined to annihilate the communist party and the CHUNG Kai-Shek army, which are acting in concert with each other. However, she has not the slightest idea of making an enemy of the Chinese people at large. This is evident from the fact that the Japanese army, while fighting



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bravely with the enemy at the front, is treating the good Chinese masses with benevolence. As for the anti-Cominter problem it is concerned<sup>not</sup>/only with the problem of the communist party in China, but also with the problem of the threat of the Soviet Union to the northern border of China as well as of MANCHUKUO. All Japan is now preparing to rid the northern border of Manchukuo as well as Japan of the menace of communism. Thus, Japan is now making such grave determination and preparation to eliminate communism.

WANG: Japan has called upon China to make a joint defense against communism, but a large section of the Chinese people were apt to misconstrue this as meaning that Japan intends to dominate China as much <sup>as</sup> she pleases in the name of the joint defense against communism. In connection with this, I usually explained that anti-communism is Japan's true intention and that therefore Japan is desirous of realizing the very unity and strengthening of China instead of dividing and weakening her and that the object of joint defense against communism will be actually attained only when China becomes strong. As stated above, I have taken the stand against the admission of communism since 1926, and will devote myself to the anti-communist movement. As the first step toward this, I am determined to put the Kuomintang, which is under the domination of the communist party, above the latter in keeping to the principle and spirit of the Kuomintang. It ~~was~~ the long-cherished desire of Sun Yat-Sen to form a coalition with Japan in such relations as those of between elder and

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younger brothers. The Principle which SUN Yat-Son held was by no means communism. In the first place, I am going to make clear the Principles and policies of the Kuomintang headed by SUN Yat-Son. In the second place, I am going to advise the Kuomintang to accept Japan's proposal concerning anti-Comintern and in this way to save her country. For the realization of this purpose, unity and strength of China are prerequisite. Though I am to proceed in cooperation with various parties other than the Kuomintang, I believe that the Kuomintang should continue to play the most active part. I should like to ask Japan to show us how to strengthen China's national defense from the standpoint of anti-Comintern. As for the steps to be taken in the interior of China, I believe that we should first of all strive to drive the influence of the communist party out of China by establishing a powerful central government.

ITAGAKI: Of course, we are desirous of establishing a powerful central government, but attention must be paid to the fact that with the development of the war situation because of the present Incident, the new regimes have been established in North China, Mongolia, Central China and other districts where a great number of Japanese reside and that those Japanese have established various connections with the Chinese. We must pay due attention to this fact. Thus, the making of closer relations between the Japanese and the Chinese in various districts will not end in weakening a central government in the least. On the contrary, it will lead to the strengthening of the position of a central government. I should like you to give careful consideration to this point. I want



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to ask you about the question of San-Min-Chu-i. A certain section of the Japanese people look askance at it. Especially, the phrase "Principle of people's livelihood is the equivalent of communism" has given rise to much misunderstanding. It is necessary for us to take appropriate steps in the future to remove such misunderstanding. Therefore, I should like you to make inquiries as to them.

WANG: The reason why SAN Yat-Sen used such a phrase is his lecture on the principle of people's livelihood was that he tried to assimilate all the currents of thoughts and ideas of the times into the principle of the Kuomintang. Therefore, if you read it carefully, you will find that he, while explaining the diametrical difference between principle of people's livelihood and communism, advised the adoption of the Principle of the Kuomintang in place of Marxism. Of course, I am going to endeavor to make clear the meaning of San-Min-Chu-i from now on. We shall talk about the movement of establishing a central government at another time when we meet again.

TRANSLATION CERTIFICATE

I, William E. Clarke, of the Defense Language Branch,  
hereby certify that the foregoing translation described in the  
above certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and belief,  
a correct translation and is as near as possible to the meaning  
of the original document.

/s/ William E. Clarke

Tokyo, Japan  
Date 8th May, 1947

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板垣陸相、汪會談要領

昭和十四年六月十一日 自午前八時  
至同 十時半

初對面ノ挨拶ノ後

汪、過日河内滯在中貴大臣ヨリ自分ニ宛テラレタル書信中ニ反共ノ語アリシハ今日迄最モ印象深カリシ點ナリ、第二ハカカル事變ノ勃發ニ關シ蔣介石ノ責任ヲ問フト云フ點ナリ責任ノ問題トナレハ自分ニモ關係アリ喜ンデ責任ヲ負擔スヘシ反共ニ至ツテハ自分ノ最モ重視スル所ニシテ獨リ支那ノミナラス東洋ノ問題ナリ將モ會ツテハ反共ノ態度ヲ持シ數年ニ亘ル共匪討伐ヲ實行シタルカ民國二十四年ニ至リ一方自分ヲシテ獨逸トノ間ノ關係ヲ密接ナラシムルト共ニ陳立夫ヲ蘇聯ニ遣ハシ「リトヴィノフ」ト會見セシメ蘇支聯絡ヲ圖ラシメタリ此ノ頃ヨリ蔣ハ蘇聯トノ合作ヲ目論見タルモノト看做スヘク次テ西安事變ニ至リ蘇支合作ハ決定的トナリシモノナリ現在英佛米各國ハ何レモ日本ノ東洋ニ於ケル抬頭ヲ忌ミ支那ノ抗戰ヲ援助シ居ルモ支那ヲ援助シテ抗日戰ヲ實行セシメツアルハ依然トシテ蘇聯力中心ナル事明白ナル事實ナリ斯クノ如ク蔣カ共產黨ト握手シ蘇聯ト合

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作シテ抗戰ヲ繼續シツツアルニ拘ラス一般國民力將ヲ擁護シツツアル所以ハ偏ニ支那カ日本ニ壓迫セラレ印度ノ如キ地位ニ陷ルヘシト危惧シ居ルニ在リ從ツテ反共ノ聲ヲアゲ得サルノミナラス却テ和平ヲ言フモノ排斥セララルノ實狀ナリ中央軍ニシテモ共產黨ニ接近シ居ルハ三分ノ一ニ過ギズ他ノ三分ノ二ハ反共ノ立場ヲ取り心中和平ヲ希望シ居ルモノナルカ前述ノ如キ理由ニテ反蔣反共ヲ叫フコト能ハサル狀態ニアリ從而彼等ノ對日危惧ノ心理力解消スレハ忽チ反共ニ一致スヘシ自分ハ武漢ニ於テモ重慶ニ於テモ或ハ參政會中ノ國民黨以外ノ者トモ話シ合ヒタルカ何レモ反共ニハ異論ナク群衆ノ如キモ十中八九迄自分ト共ニ旗アゲスルコトヲ決意シタルモ遂ニ動クヲ得サルニ至レルハ斯クノ如キ國內ノ空氣ニ支配セラレタルニ依ル自分ハ民國十三年ヨリ十五年ニ至ル容共時代ニ政府部内ニ居リタルヲ以テ其ノ當時ノ責任ハ之ヲ負フモ其ノ後ハ終始共產黨ニ反對シ今次ノ共產黨トノ合作ニ至ツテハ特ニ反對セル所ナリ而カモ重慶政府ノ態度前述ノ如キ狀況ナルヲ以テ遂ニ意ヲ決シテ重慶ヲハナレ反共工作

板、

ノ實行ニ移リタル次第ナリ、  
 貴下ノ脱出前後ノ事情ニ付テハ影佐大佐ヨリ詳細ニ報告ニ接シ承知  
 シ居レリ。今ヨリ支那ノ國民カ排日的心理ニ支配サレ居ルハ事實ナリ、  
 右ハ日英ノ真意カ諒解セラレ居ラサルニ依ルモノト云フヘシ日本ノ  
 國民モ當局モ數十年來常ニ日支親善ヲ目標トシテ努力シ來レルモノ  
 ナリ之レカ實現セサリシハ誤解ニ基ク所多カルヘシ然リトセハ誤解  
 スル方モ責任アルヘシ唯茲ニ明言スルヲ得ルハ日本ハ斷シテ支那ヲ  
 印度ノ如クスル氣持ナク東洋民族解放ノタメ外來ノ勢力ノ侵入ヲ防  
 キ以テ東洋永遠ノ平和ヲ確保セントスルニアリ其ノ第一歩トシテ日  
 支提携ヲ圖ラントスルモノニテ今次ノ轉變ノ如キモ之ヲ聖戰ト信シ  
 日支親善ヲ阻害スル共產黨及之ト結合セル蔣介石ノ抗日軍隊ヲ殲滅  
 シ一般國民ヲ救フスル觀念ハ毫モナシ現ニ現地ノ日本軍隊カ戦線ニ  
 於テハ勇敢ニ敵ト戦ヒツツ善良ナル民衆ニ對シテハ優撫ノ念ヲ以テ  
 接シツツアルヲ見テモ明カナルヘシ殊ニ反共ニ至ツテハ獨リ支那國  
 内ノ共產黨ノ問題ノミナフス滿洲國及支那ノ北境ニ迫ル露聯ノ脅威

ニ對スル問題アリ日本ハ今ヤ全國ヲアゲテ國內ハ勿論此ノ滿洲ノ北邊ニ對スル脅威ニ對シ徹底的ニ排除スルノ準備ヲナシ居レリ日本ハ反共ノタメニハ斯カル重大ナル決心ト準備ヲナシ居ル次第ナリ、日本カ支那ニ對シ共同防共ヲ要求スルニ對シ支那國民一般ハ往々ニシテ之ヲ曲解シ日本ハ共同防共ノ名ヲ以テ支那ヲ自由ニ支配セントスルモノナルヘシトナスモノ多シ之ニ對シ自分ハ日本ノ防共ハ決シテ胡魔化シニアラス從ツテ支那ノ統一ト強化ヲコソ希望スレ決シテ支那ヲ分化シ弱化セントスルモノニ非ス支那カ強クナリテコソ眞ニ共同防共ノ目的ヲ達シ得ヘケレハナリト説明シツツアリ、自分ハ前ニ述ヘタル通り民國十五年以來絶對ニ共產黨ヲ容レサル立場ヲ取ルモノニテ今後反共工作ニ邁進セントスルモノナルカ其ノ第一歩トシテハ國民黨ノ主義精神ヲ生カシテ現在共產黨ノ下ニアル國民黨ヲ先ツ共產黨ノ上ニ立タシメサルヘカラスト決意シ居レリ孫文ノ素志モ日本ヲ兄トシ支那ヲ弟トシテ合作スルニアリタリ孫文ノ主義ハ決シテ共產主義ニ非ス自分ハ第一段ニ此ノ孫文ノ國民黨ノ主義製作（政



策一ヲ明カニシ第二段ニ國民黨カ公開的ニ日本ノ希望スル反共救國ノ要望ヲ受納セントス、ソレニハ支那ト統一ト力量トカ必要ナリ吾人ハ固ヨリ國民黨以外ノ各黨派ト聯合シテ進ム譯ナルモ中心勢力トシテハ依然國民黨カ之ニ當ルヘキモノナリト信ス尙防共ノタメ國防ヲ如何ニスヘキヤノ問題ニ付テハ日本側ヨリ篤ト御指導ヲ仰ギ度シ國內ニ於ケル辦法トシテハ先ツ有力ナル統一政府ヲ作り共產黨勢力ヲ驅逐スルニ努ムヘキモノト信スル

有力ナル中央政府ヲ樹立スルコトハ吾人ノ國ヨリ希望スル所ナリ唯茲ニ注意スヘキハ今次事變ニ際シ軍事ノ進展ニ伴ヒ北支、蒙疆、中支等ニ新政權成立シ是等ノ地方ニハ多數ノ日本人モ居住シ種々ノ關係ヲ生シ居ル事實ナリ此ノ事實ニ對シテハ相當尊重セサルベカラス斯クシテ各地方毎ニ日支ノ結合ヲ強化スルコトハ決シテ中央政府ヲ弱化スル所以ニ非スシテ却ツテ日支ノ結合ニ依ル中央政府ノ立場ヲ強クスルモノナリ、此ノ點ハ充分考慮セラレタシ、尙次ニオ尋ネシタキハ三民主義ノ問題ナリ日本ニテハ三民主義ヲ危險視スルモノア

リ殊ニ民生主義ハ共產主義ナリト云フカ如キ文句アルヲ以テ種々ノ誤解アリ、今後カカルヲ解クタメ適當ナル手段方法ヲ講スル必要アリ此ノ點モ充分研究セラレタシ、

孫文ノ民生主義ノ講義ハ當時ノ狀勢上各潮流各思想ヲ全部自分ノ方ニ引キツケ之レヲ國民黨ニ同化セント計リシヲメ、カカル文句モアル譯ニテ全体ヲヨク味讀スレハ民生主義ハ全然共產主義ト異ル所以ヲ説キ結局「マルクス」主義ヲ捨テテ國民黨ノ主義ニ入レト勸メ居ル事明カナリ固ヨリ今後三民主義ノ闡明ニ付テハ大ニ努力スル考ナリ、尙中央政府樹立工作ニ關シ詳細ナルコトハ日ヲ改メテオ話し度シ、